16: Fryer K-3 (no date)1953 ALl Southeast Asia ALl

361 before. Manila and Jakarta, though located in populous countrysides, arose from minor settlements, and Saigon was nothing more than a village surrounding an Annamese imperial fortress. Bangkok illustrates the arbitrariness of city location dependent on the personal decision of the ruler; for though founded on the site of an earlier settlement, this possessed no particular geographical significance and was unoccupied by indigenous peoples at the time.

361 With the exception of Saigon, all the great cities were founded in the
504 days of sail, but, despite the unexacting requirements of sailing vessels, good harbors with safe anchorages, facilities for careening, and easy access into the interior were not readily found in Southeast Asia, where the modest tides of the shallow seas on the Sunda Shelf only occasionally bring deep water close inshore. It cannot be said that the sites selected by the Europeans were always the best. Silting has been a problem, and technological changes have necessitated almost everywhere the creation of virtually new ports close to the old towns to cope with the increasing size and draft of vessels, and to expedite the handling of new export commodities. It is not surprising, therefore, that the indigenous Bangkok has tended to lag behind.

Manila, the oldest of the five cities, is perhaps also the most interesting. It did not begin primarily as a port and commercial base, nor did its early start confer the usual advantages, in spite of the possession of what is probably the best natural harbor in the whole of Southeast Asia. Manila Bay, protected by the mountainous Bataan Peninsula, and with a relatively narrow entrance, gives shelter from the prevailing winds and the occasional typhoons that cross Luzon. Its north shore is formed by the swamps of the delta of the Pasag and Pampanga Rivers, but on the east a narrow strip of plain lies between it and the southern Sierra Madre. Part of this plain is occupied by the extensive but shallow Laguna de Bay, whose outlet is the short and meandering Pasig River. At its mouth were two stockaded Muslim settlements, from the southerly of which the present city takes its name. The potentialities of Manila as a fortress and administrative center were at once recognized, and its splendid harbor and nodality in relation to the productive plains gave it an ascendancy over the earlier Cebu city (1565). But in a colony that was itself a dependency of another colony, and separated from the homeland by two oceans, economic development was retarded.

361 The objective of Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the founder of Batavia, was the establishment of an economic base[4] that would free the Dutch East India

[4] B. H. M. Vlekke: Nusantara: A History of the East Indian Archipelago (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), pp. 122–123.

16: Fryer K-3 (no date)1953 ALl Southeast Asia ALl

of the nineteenth century was a reflection of the investment of foreign capital in the archipelago, stimulated by the opening of the Suez Canal. In 1863 relocation of the administrative area began, with the move of the Governor to the Malacañan Palace, north of the river, and in the last three decades of Spanish rule development on the north bank of the Pasig was rapid. After the American occupation Manila grew quickly. A modern harbor was constructed on reclaimed land on the seaward side of Intramuros (1903), and the main development of the city was shifted south of the Pasig, where new administrative and residential districts were created. Since World War II the city has again expanded, owing partly to an influx of population from the country, and partly to the use of reconstruction funds for development. The built-up area is now practically continuous from the swamps of the Bitas River mouth in the north to Parañaque in the south, a distance of about 10 miles. Northeast and southeast of the urban fringe, rice fields still cover the plain, and parts of the city itself are regularly flooded in the rainy season (April-October). Development has proceeded farthest inland on the higher ground between the coastal plain and the Marikina River, which drains southward to the Pasig. Here are the newer districts of Mandaluyong, San Juan del Monte, and Quezon City, the last virtually a satellite town, which is the new administrative center of the Republic.

As a result of its long history and changing administration, Manila has a greater variety of architectural styles and street patterns than the other four cities. Old buildings of wood and adobe in the colonial style were found in Intramuros (which was largely destroyed in 1945) and occasionally outside, but in the main business district in Binondo and in the administrative quarter of Ermita modern steel-framed concrete buildings now predominate. Manila is not a city of skyscrapers. Good foundations are impossible in the alluvial sediments, and deep piling to reach the underlying granite or "floating" on enormous cellular rafts of concrete is necessary for large buildings in all the great cities. In the districts of earliest expansion, radiating plazas and boulevards are to be seen; elsewhere the gridiron layout of the typical American city has been adhered to, except in the newer areas to the east, where attempts have been made to relate development to topography. Racial zonation is well marked. The Chinese community inhabits the narrow streets north of the Escolta in the business quarter, and the principal indigenous residential areas lie north of the city in the crowded districts of Tondo, Sampaloc, and Santa Cruz. Europeans, Americans, and wealthy Filipinos reside on the higher ground in the districts of Ermita and Malate, south of the river.

16: Fryer K-3 (no date)1953 ALl Southeast Asia ALl

the Chao Phraya, and even now there has been little expansion in that direction. At the end of the nineteenth century the filling in of the klongs and their replacement by roads were begun. The main axis of development was to the southeast, along the "New Road," as well as along the river. The expansion of commerce necessitated a business district, which was created in the Bangrak area, south of the Chinese quarter of Sampeng, and the increase in government functions led to an expansion of administration into Samsen and Dusit, to the north, while new European residential districts arose in the southeast. The west bank of the river, however, where the high tower of Wat Arun forms the most conspicuous landmark in the city, long remained an indigenous area, with a large population living in boats. The port has lagged behind in adaptation to changed technologies, and improved facilities are long overdue.

Saigon is virtually a twentieth-century city, though the construction of a business quarter and a modern port was begun shortly after the French occupation, and, as in the case of Bangkok, growth has been linked with the rice export trade. However, administration has been relatively more important than in any of the other cities. Before the creation of Vietnam, Cochin China was a French colony, governed from Saigon by French officials exclusively, and the city alternated with Hanoi as the residence of the Governor General of Indochina. With the loss of effective control over most of Tonkin, Saigon has become the main French base and center of power in Indochina.

The direction of expansion of the city has been westward toward Cholon, but Saigon is much more compact than any of the other great cities. The main business district lies in the southern part, close to the Arroyo Chinois, which links the Saigon River with Cholon. The shopping and administrative areas, characterized by wide boulevards, are a little to the northwest, and the European residential area lies on the "Plateau" to the north, a few feet above sea level. Cholon is a complete contrast, and until the war it had a much larger population. Unlike Saigon, which has a rectangular pattern of broad streets, Cholon has grown haphazardly along its many waterways. In 1932 the two cities were combined in a special administrative area, but they have remained largely independent of each other. Saigon is mainly concerned with administration and port activities, whereas Cholon has developed as the principal industrial area of Indochina. As in Jakarta, the enormous postwar increase in population has resulted in a great expansion in the area occupied by temporary dwellings, around the city margins.

The founder of Singapore did not omit to provide his city with a plan

16: Fryer K-3 (no date)1953 ALl Southeast Asia ALl

361 north bank of the Pasig, and circulation is impeded by the bridges over the river; approach from the north is slowed by bottlenecks where narrow bridges span the many small canals, or *esteros*, which make the district virtually an island.

Administration is a main function of the five cities. So far as Jakarta and Singapore are concerned, it is highly likely that the gradual growth of a parliamentary democracy in the mother country, which necessitated an increase in the size of the colonial administration,[7] was a dominant factor in city growth; similar tendencies have been observed in the other cities, though the degree varies considerably. The administrative areas are distinct, but the enormous growth in official business in the last 25 years and the expansion of the cities have necessitated some decentralization of administrative functions. Only Singapore is not an official capital, but despite the creation of an administrative capital for the Federation of Malaya at Kuala Lumpur, Singapore is unlikely to suffer from this apparent loss of government business.[8]

The Ports and Their Functions

•504 361 In the cities of Southeast Asia, lacking the heavy industrialization that has accompanied the development of ports in the West, port functions are relatively more important. Nevertheless, in any great port a certain amount of industrialization is inevitable, and the cities already possess a considerable industrial variety.

Unlike the smaller ports of their respective territories, which serve mainly local needs, the five cities are international ports, with a commerce that is becoming more widespread as the ties of former colonies with the homeland are loosened. The ports handle a large proportion of the export trade of their territories, but an even larger proportion of the import trade; distribution is thus a principal function in the economic life of the cities.

The modern ports, constructed on reclaimed land, are entirely artificial, but nowhere, even in the tidal ports of Bangkok and Saigon, are enclosed basins necessary. The modern ports, however, have not completely succeeded in displacing the old harbors; the Pasig and Singapore Rivers continue to carry a heavy lighter traffic from vessels in the Roads, with a great saving in port dues.

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[7] Amry Vandenbosch: The Dutch East Indies (3rd edit., Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1942), p. 75.

[8] Nevertheless, Singapore still is, as it always was, an administrative center of the first importance. The Colony has its own government offices, and also those of the Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South-East Asia. It contains the headquarters of the Far Eastern Naval, Military, and Air Forces of the British Commonwealth, and many Commonwealth and foreign consular and diplomatic offices. Finally, the City of Singapore has its own Municipal Council, which is responsible for the administration of many public utilities.

16: Fryer K-3 (no date)1953 ALl Southeast Asia ALl

504 361

Manila is unusual in possessing two harbors, one north of the Pasig, which handles the large interisland traffic, and the main harbor for trans-oceanic vessels, south of the entrance to the river. The Pasig itself is dredged to a depth of 18 feet as far as Jones Bridge, and is lined with quays. Native craft carry a considerable traffic upstream and along the many esteros. Manila normally handles about 30 per cent of the total export trade of the Philippine Republic, and more than 90 per cent of the imports.

With some 30 million tons of shipping entering and clearing annually, Singapore is one of the world's great ports. The functional pattern is similar to that of Manila. The modern port of Keppel Harbor handles most of the trade with the more distant parts of Asia and the rest of the world, and much of the entrepôt trade with South China and the rest of Southeast Asia is handled in the Roads. The political separation of Singapore from the Federation of Malaya complicates assessment of the trade of the port, since official statistics now exclude trade with the Federation; though it is not quite clear what proportion of Singapore's trade is conducted with the Federation. in 1951 the port handled 74 per cent of Malaya's imports and 67 per cent of the exports. Singapore shares with Bangkok the distinction of exporting more by value than it imports; the other ports all have an "unfavorable" trade balance. The great naval base, considerably enlarged since the war, is well removed from the commercial port; it lies on Johore Strait, some 17 miles from the city, almost as far distant as the Cavite base is from Manila.

Tanjoengpriok, the port of Jakarta, is of all the modern ports the farthest from the city center. Its construction some six miles northeast of the city was necessitated by the silting of the Tjiliwong, which has built up an expanse of mud flats along the coast more than a mile in width; the flats have, however, been put to productive use through the excavation of fishponds. The old harbor, connected with the modern port by the Antjol Canal, does not compare in importance with the Singapore River or the Pasig, nor does the rather large coastal and interisland trade have an independent harbor, as in Manila, though one of the Tanjoengpriok basins is used almost exclusively for this purpose. In the unrest that preceded the formation of the Indonesian Republic, the trade of Tanjoengpriok decreased greatly, but since 1950 recovery has been rapid. Some ground, however, has been lost to other ports: in 1951 Tanjoengpriok handled only 10 per cent of the exports of Indonesia, though its share of the imports was better maintained, with some 52 per cent of the national total.

Saigon is both a commercial and a naval port, though as a naval base it cannot rival Singapore or Cavite. It is approached by way of the Saigon

16: Fryer K-3 (no date)1953 ALI Southeast Asia ALI

504 361 River, which, though possessing adequate depth for vessels up to 30 feet in draft, has a sinuous channel, which prevents ships longer than 550 feet from ascending to the port. The strong scour of the semidiurnal tides reduces the necessity for dredging. The port occupies about three miles of the right bank of the river and is divided into three sections. Overseas trade is handled by the quays between the Arroyo Chinois and the Canal de Dérivation, in the Khan Hoi district; smaller vessels use the quays nearer the city; and the naval port lies farthest upstream, close to the Arroyo de l'Avalanche. Lighters convey cargoes from ships anchored in the river below the city to wharves along the Arroyo Chinois and the Canal de Dérivation, the twin waterways that link Saigon with Cholon. Before 1939, Saigon handled about 40 per cent of the total foreign trade of Indochina; rice formed about 50 per cent by weight of the exports. At the present time the military operations taking place in the country have greatly reduced the trade of Saigon, and the rice export is only some 100,000 tons a year.

Bangkok alone of all the ports is still inaccessible to large ocean-going vessels. A bar at the mouth of the Menam Chao Phraya prevents entry, and the terminal for large vessels has long been Gaw Si Kang, an island in the Gulf of Siam east of the river mouth. From Gaw Si Kang strings of lighters are drawn by tugs to the wharves of Bangkok, which extend for about six miles along the left bank below the Grand Palace. The dredging of the bar to allow ocean-going vessels to reach the port would have presented no great difficulties, but opposition from the lightering interests prevented anything from being done until shortly before the war, when work was begun on a new port at Klong Toi, about five miles below the city. It is now proposed, as part of a plan to expand rice cultivation in Thailand, to deepen the channel so that vessels of 26-foot draft can ascend to the port. Bangkok has an almost complete monopoly of the foreign trade of Thailand, and in a real sense it is the only port of the country.

Industrial Development

32 361 38 39 The five cities contain a large proportion of the total industrial capacity of their respective territories. Industry is well represented, though much of it is better described as processing than as manufacturing, and its range of activities is continually increasing. The primary processing of foodstuffs and raw materials is dominant; rice milling is particularly important, except in Singapore, but rubber, copra, sago, tapioca, hemp, sugar, and tobacco all assume considerable local significance. A beginning has been made with the higher stages of manufacturing, such as rubber products and even foam

17: Ginsburg E-4 (no date) 1955
ALl Southeast Asia ALl

try, indigenous, cultural or political subcenter. Just as Shanghai had its Nanking and Peking, so Rangoon has its Mandalay, Jakarta its Jogjakarta, Manila its Cebu, and, in a variant form, Singapore its Kuala Lumpur.

In the past these cities sited along the Asian littoral have been the funnels through which produce from the interiors have reached tidewater and the world of commerce and Western manufactures have penetrated. Through the increasingly metropolitan channels have flowed the ideas of the West as well as its material goods. In a sense they have acted both as a catalyst for social and economic change and as a cushion which modified the shock of the earlier cultural contacts.

With the exception of Singapore, the site of each of the great cities of Southeast Asia is an ill-drained riverine or coastal lowland strategically placed in relation to an exceptionally productive agricultural region. Again, with the exception of Singapore, none possesses a deep natural harbor suitable for modern ocean-going shipping. The three mainland ports are both river and ocean ports and must be reached through tortuous and shallow river channels. All are entrepôts. Jakarta and Manila are located on the most highly developed islands of the archipelagoes, for which they act as entrepôts. Only in Indonesia and Indochina are there major competitors for the two greatest ports —Haiphong, the outlet for the densely populated Tonkin delta, and Surabaya, the regional capital for the Great East of the Indies, itself an empire. Each great port virtually dominates the national import trade; all tend, however, to share some part of the national export trade with lesser ports. In spite of these great similarities, the nature and functions of the ports differ markedly. As Allen observes: "All ports are individual. History, geography, politics, and economics all contribute to making them as they are. Few universal principles apply, and attempts to force uniformity on ports which have grown up differently are bound to fail."[18] Singapore, for example, is one of the

504 361 [175] world's great ports and the most Western of the great cities of Southeast Asia. A Crown Colony, it is the only great city without a large administrative hinterland, although it is the seat of the British High Commissioner for Southeast Asia. Since its founding by Raffles in 1819, it has been a free port and an entrepôt for much of archipelagic Southeast Asia. About half of the 5.5 million tons of cargo that pass over Singapore's modern wharves originates outside of the Malayan peninsula, and it was not until 1924 that the island of Singapore was connected by causeway with the mainland. At the same time it handles two-thirds of Malaya's exports and about three-fourths of its imports by value. Increasingly, its interests have tended to focus upon Malaya itself, as its entrepôt functions have been cut into by the other great ports within the region, especially Jakarta. What has kept Singapore the largest port in Southeast Asia (over 20 million net tons of shipping entered in 1952) is its status as a free port and its strategic location at the western entrance to the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean basin. As a crossroad between the Pacific and Indian oceans, it attracts shipping from great distances. It [508] also has become an important air center, and a new airfield is under construction northeast of the city. Finally, the concentration [368] of banking, insurance, light industry, docking, repair, and outfitting facilities have fortified its dominant position.

361 563 Singapore City was originally laid out with due regard for ethnic quarters.[19] The oldest section of the city, however, has become the business center, but the rest of the older town is a densely populated Chinese section, and much of the newer town to the northeast also is Chinese. Each of these areas is in turn divided on the basis of Chinese clan categories. The European residen-

[18] D. F. Allen, *Report on the Major Ports of Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer, 1951), p. 128.

[19] For a general description of the city see E. H. G. Dobby, "Singapore: Town and Country," *Geographical Review*, January, 1940, and the *Colony of Singapore Annual Report*.

460A

17: Ginsburg E-4 (no date) 1955
ALl Southeast Asia ALl
Bang Kok

behind them is one of the most striking demonstrations of cultural dualism in Southeast Asia.

Unlike the other great cities, Bangkok originated as the capital of a land-oriented agrarian state. Its proximity to tidewater was accidental. In 1822 the ship bearing the Crawfurd mission to the Thai court barely was able to cross the bar at the mouth of the Menam, then covered by only four feet of water.[2] Its poor harbor and its remoteness from the major shipping routes of the South China Sea conspired to retard the development of the city as a port until the end of the nineteenth century and to retain it as an anachronism in Southeast Asia—a growing city, nearly great, surely primate, but indigenous rather than Western. Nevertheless, since it was through Bangkok that Western influences filtered into Thailand, it is a case of an indigenous capital acting as a revolutionary medium for socioeconomic change.

Bangkok is still the least convenient port of the great cities in Southeast Asia. The bar across the mouth of the Chao Phya was dredged through only in 1952, and port facilities are modest as compared with the other cities. Indeed, most vessels still anchor in the Bight of Bangkok in the lee of the island, Kao Hsi Kang, at the mouth of the Chao Phya and transship their cargoes to and from river barges and country boats which link the island with Bangkok. Surprisingly, the freight tonnage handled at Bangkok is about one-third that of Singapore, although the volume of shipping is only one-tenth as large. The explanation lies partly in the large bulk shipments of rice which form the main export. Partly, also, there is a lower load factor at Singapore, since much of the shipping which enters its harbor is as much dependent on the local complex of service facilities as on cargo potential. At Bangkok, peripheral as it is to the main trade routes, few vessels call without assurances of sizable cargoes.

[2] See J. Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China* (London: H. Colburn & R. Bentley, 1830).